

## THE ELEMENTS *CHURCH*, *KIRK* AND *KIR(K)BY* IN ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

### Introduction

From the linguistic point of view, English place-names are rather heterogeneous material. This heterogeneity finds its explanation in the various relationships between different peoples of differing linguistic background who came to the British Isles and settled there. The linguistic formations of the place-names and their distribution often offer a clue as to how this heterogeneity has been formed, i. e. how various may have been the human contact of the peoples in a new land. The place-names containing *church*, *kirk* and *kir(k)by* will be, like many other names, plain indicators of such English and Scandinavian interrelations.

The elements *church* and *kirk* are ultimately derived from the Greek word κῆριακόν meaning 'a house of the Lord'. Although we may assume that the phonetic form of the OE word *cirice* 'a church' supports the direct continental borrowing (Scheler 1977:49), it is more likely that the Anglo-Saxon settlers learned the word in a new homeland which had been governed by the Romans until the fifth century. In romanised Britain of the fifth and sixth centuries they would have learned the Vulgar Latin *cýrica* with the initial Germanic accent. In the OE period the palatalisation of the sound /k/ occurred and was completed (Pilch 1970:86), and the occupation of England by the Norman-French from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries brought about the orthography <ch> for /tʃ/ in *cirice*. In the fifteenth century there were still three major variants: *churche* in the Southwest, *cherche* in the Southeast, *chirche* in the South and in the South Midlands (Jones 1982:map 1). After the standardisation of the English dialects the southwestern orthography became generally accepted. With the important infiltration of Roman Christianity into the British society,<sup>1</sup> numerous village churches were built for the Christian worship and organised mostly in private ownership (Godfrey 1974:136). The word *church* has hence survived mostly as an appellative in the southern parts of England, indicating the presence of a church probably as a focus for the new settlement or the establishment of a new village. In contrast to the OE

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1 There are two decisive events which favoured the position of the Roman Church, namely (1) the triumph of the Roman Church at the Conference of Whitby in 664 and (2) the arrival in 669 of Theodore as Archbishop and Hadrian as Abbot in Kent (Bede: III.25 + IV.1).

*mynster* 'a monastery' or 'a large church' which was served by a religious community, the OE *cirice* usually referred to a church served by a single priest (Gelling 1981:5), who was appointed and provided for by the landowner.

The element *kirk* goes back to the ON *kirkja* 'a church'. The contemporary Icelandic still has this form *kirkja*. In Norwegian and Danish the ON form has been reduced to *kirkje* and *kirke* respectively. It is unlikely that the heathen Scandinavians borrowed the Greek  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\nu$  into their languages. More likely is that the English mission beginning in Germany and Denmark in the seventh and eighth centuries introduced the OE word *cirice*. The initial letter <c> was then substituted by the Scandinavian spelling <k>. The <kj> shows the consequence of the palatalization. The word *kirkja*, developed into the form *kirk(e)* or *kyrk(e)* in the ME period, was introduced to the British Isles by the Norwegian and Danish settlers from the eighth country. It has survived as an appellative in numerous place-names and as a loan word equivalent to *church* in some northern dialects. This northern form *kirk* was, however, less and less used by the local people after the fourteenth century and replaced more and more by the English standard form *church* (Wakelin 1972:82).

The element *kirkby* or *kirby* is a compound of *kirkju* (genitive singular of *kirkja*) and the Scandinavian element *bý* 'a village, a farmstead' (Old Danish *bý*, Old West Scandinavian *boer*, *býr*). This compound is exclusively used as a single appellative unit indicating 'a village with a church' or 'a farmstead owned by a church'.

The purpose of this paper is to give a brief view of the chief place-names containing these elements and their distribution.<sup>2</sup> The distribution maps will be used to consider the regional tendencies over the whole of England. Finally an attempt will be made to draw the patterns of the distribution in connection with the formations of the place-names.

The following table shows, in numerical order, the 303 place-names, in which the elements *church*, *kirk* and *kirkby* appear as a first or as a second element. The total numbers are: church (164); kirk (91); kir(k)by (48):

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2 Since the English Place-Name Society has not completed its county-by-county survey of the whole of England, the presentation in this paper will offer a tentative picture, especially in counties such as Northumberland, Durham, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Norfolk, Suffolk, Somerset and Hampshire, which have thus far only been surveyed sporadically.

compounding elements or • function	as a 1st element			as a 2nd element		
	church	kirk	kir(k)by	church	kirk	kir(k)by
• simplex	1		4			
saint name		5		9	6	
family name			4			
personal name			2	10	3	
habitative	53	8	6			
topographical	31	35	12			
adjective and noun			2	31	5	3
place or river name			5			
religious person						1
• as a family name			6			1
• denoting a cairn					5	
• substitution				3		
• as an affix	25	23	1			
miscellaneous <sup>3</sup>	1		1		1	
total	111	71	43	53	20	5

## *Church* as a first element

There is only one name as a simplex: CHURCH in Lancashire. It was once called *Churchkyrk* in the sixteenth century. According to Mills (1976:73) it might refer to a church near St. James' Church which is still called 'Church Kirk' in the region.

Church as a first element is combined with habitative or topographical elements. In the habitative compounds CHIRTON (OE *tūn*)<sup>4</sup> or CHURCHTOWN (ME *toun/town*)-type names occur most frequently. These names would, in the ME period, refer to the social and administrative arrangement 'an estate of a church' rather than the original OE sense 'a village with a church' (Gelling 1978:125). Three names exist in Devonshire referring to the owner of the church or the land: CHERITON BISHOP (*Bishops Churyton* 1370): one acre of land was granted to the bishop of Exeter;

- 3 The following names are considered to be etymologically unclear because of the lack of reliable evidence: CHURCH CROFT in Surrey might go back to the OE *croft* 'a small enclosed field'; DUNKIRK in Cheshire was recorded as *Dunkirk Farm* only in 1802. Dodgson (EPNS XLVII:176) suggests the French influence on this name, but it is difficult to verify it from this evidence; the element following *kirkby* in KIRBY MISPERTON in the North Riding of Yorkshire refers to either OE *mispel* or *mispeler* 'a medlar-tree' (EPNS V:75) or to OE *mistbeorg* 'a foggy hill' or 'a dung hill' (Ekwall 1960:279).
- 4 For the meaning in the parenthesis following the place-name I mostly used the county volumes from EPNS and the two volumes *English Place-Name Elements* by A. H. Smith.

CHERITON FITZPAINE (*Cheryton Phezpayn* 1510): The son of *Pagan* held the manor in 1256; CHURSTON FERRERS (*Churcheton Ferers juxta Brixham* 1345): *Hugo de Fereis* held the manor in 1303. Numerous minor names such as CHURCH END (OE *ende* ‘the end of an estate’) or CHURCH FM (probably ME *ferme* ‘land held on lease’) appear in the southern parts of England, some of which were related to the home of a person who lived near the church: e. g. CHURCH END in Cambridge (*Robert atte Cherche* 1327); CHURCH END in Hertfordshire (*Juliana ate Church* 1307); CHURCH TOWN in Surrey (*Henry atte Cherche* 1263); CHURCH FM in Essex (*Geoffrey atte Cherch* 1327). The ME *atte* ‘at’ was thus commonly used in personal names between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries and the postpositioned noun was later often adopted as a surname (Cameron 1961:95, Reaney 1976:XV).

In comparison, topographical elements offer quite a lot of variety such as OE *balca* ‘a ridge, a bank’ in CHURCHBALK in Derbyshire; OE *geat* ‘a gate’ in CHURCHGATE in Hertfordshire and CHURCHGATE STREET in Essex; OE *burh* ‘a fortified place’ in CHIRBURY in Shropshire; OE *sīg* ‘a path, a narrow road’ in CHRISTY BANK in Westmorland; OE *wudu* ‘a wood, a forest, wood, timber’ in CHURCH WOOD in Sussex where there was once a home of *Roger atte Churche* 1327, situated near the forest; OE *bearu* ‘a wood, grove’ in CHERUBEER in Devon. There are names with OE *ford* ‘a ford’ in CHARFORD and CHURCHINGFORD in Devonshire which would probably mean that the people needed to cross a ford to go to church in the early years of the Anglo-Saxon era and OE *brycg* ‘a bridge’ in CHURCHBRIDGE in Staffordshire which would indicate the appearance of the bridge as a supplement to the fords (Gelling 1984:64–5). The most problematical names are CHURCHILL or CHURCH HILL which have been the subject of some discussions: Mawer suggests (EPNS IV:108–109) that OE *cirice* should, in many instances, have been confused with the Old British *crūc* denoting a hill or barrow, while Ekwall (1931:50) concludes that the majority of the CHURCHILLS go back to OE *cirichyll* ‘church hill’. Gelling (1981:5–6), taking into account the topographical conditions of the names, suggests that the two names should certainly contain *cirice*: CHURCHILL in Worcestershire and Somerset, for a church actually stands in the hilly landscape. As Jackson argues (1953:245), we may suppose that these names might be in fact the tautological hybrids which came to be spelled CHURCHILL in the modern time, i. e. the local resident Britons called a certain hill *crūc* and the Anglo-Saxons, who encountered it without correctly understanding it, took it for a name, adding their word *hyll*.

## ***Church as a second element***

*Church* as a second element is frequently combined with adjectives and nouns, pointing out the structure, direction or appearance of a church or the profession of a person who built or owned a church.

There are ten WHITECHURCHS in the southern parts of England. The word 'white' indicates a church built of stone, probably of white limestone (Smith 1956 I:273). The construction of a church was new to the Britons (Bede: III.4), who were familiar with wooden churches. In comparison, four names refer to the wooden construction of a church: BERECHURCH (OE *bred* 'a board, a plank') in Essex; STOCKENCHURCH (OE *stoccen* 'wooden') in Buckinghamshire; WOODCHURCH (OE *wudu* 'a wood, a forest, wood, timber') in Cheshire and Kent. WOODCHURCH could, however, also mean 'a church in the wood' (Wallenberg 1934:364–5).<sup>5</sup>

There are seven names suggesting the direction or the location of a church: NORTHCHURCH in Hertfordshire, situated northwest of BERKHAMSTED where the original church exists; SOUTHCHURCH in Essex, because it is sited in the south of the Rochford Hundred; EASTCHURCH in Devon and Kent; UPCHURCH in Kent, its spire having probably been a sea-mark owing to its comparatively high position (Wallenberg 1934:272); HANCHURCH in Staffordshire containing *hēah* 'high' and ASHCHURCH in Gloucestershire which might have been situated near 'an ash-tree'.

Four names contain words which indicate the appearance of a church: IVYCHURCH (OE *ifig* 'ivy') in Wiltshire and Kent; VOWCHURCH (OE *fāg* 'multicoloured') in Herefordshire; HORNCHURCH in Essex probably goes back to OE/ON *horn* implying the gable of the church which was shaped like a horn. In five names *church* is defined by the words OE *nīwe* 'new' or *ald* 'old': NEWCHURCH in Lancashire, Kent and the Isle of Wight; NEWCHURCH COMMON in Cheshire; OLD CHURCH in Cumberland.

DYMCHURCH in Kent contains OE *dēma* 'a judge'. Wallenberg suggests (1934:462): "Possibly a man who was a judge built the church or was an early owner of it".

Nine names are compounded with the names of the saints to whom the churches were dedicated. They occur exclusively in Herefordshire, the area into which many Celts were pushed at the time of the Anglo-Saxon political dominance: KENDERCHURCH (*Lann Cinitir* 1130) 'Saint Gynidir's church', KENTCHURCH (*Lann Cein* 1130) 'Saint Ceina's church', MUCH DEWCHURCH/LITTLE DEWCHURCH (*Lann Dewi Ros Cerion* 1130) 'Saint David's church', MICHAELCHURCH (*Lann mihacgel cil luch* 1131) 'Saint Michael's church', MICHAELCHURCH ESKLEY (*Michaeleschirche* 1280, *Llanyhangleskle* 1577) 'Saint Michael's church' sited on the ESCLEY BROOK. In Cornwall there is only one name: MARHAMCHURCH (*Maronechirche* 1086) 'saint Merwenn's church'. In Devon is ST MARYCHURCH ((*æt*) *Scē Maria* 1050–72) which also has an English

5 According to Smith (1965 II:279–280) the meaning 'wood' is sometimes used when the word appears as a first element with words for buildings like *hūs* or *brycg*. When the word appears as a second element, then it often indicates the location of a building, namely 'a wood, a forest'. Taking up his opinion, WOODCHURCH would refer to 'a wooden church' and CHURCH WOOD in Sussex to 'a church in a forest'.

origin. It must be mentioned that most of these names were first recorded in a Celtic word-order containing a Celtic word *llan* or *lann* for ‘a church’, which seems to have been translated into English, appearing thereafter in an English word-order. On the basis of this phenomenon, Jackson infers (1953:244): “This suggests intermarriage and intimate fusion between the two races, which, in any case, must presumably have taken place on a considerable scale; and therefore some degree of bilingualism. If not, at least these names are more likely to have got into Anglo-Saxon through English-speaking Britons than through non-Brittonic-speaking or even Brittonic-speaking Englishmen”.

Ten names contain personal names which usually refer to the owner or founder of a church. Six names contain a personal name: ACHURCH ‘*Ási/Ása*’s church’ in Northamptonshire; ALVECHURCH ‘*Ælfgyð*’s church’ in Worcestershire; BASCHURCH ‘*Bas(s)*’s church’ in Shropshire; LILLECHURCH ‘*Lilla*’s church’ in Kent; OFFCHURCH ‘King *Offa*’s church’ in Warwickshire; PUCKLECHURCH ‘*Pūcela*’s church’ in Gloucestershire. Another four names contain uncertain personal names: DUNCHURCH in Warwickshire; HAWKCHURCH and HONEYCHURCH in Devon; BONCHURCH in the Isle of Wight.

There are three instances which we call ‘substitution’ because the original names were replaced by the new word church: WHITCHURCH (*Westune* ‘a village in the west’ 1086, *Album Monasterium* in the twelfth century, *Whytchrche* in the thirteenth century) in Shropshire; WHITCHURCH DOWN (*Werydon* ‘a criminal hill’ 1488, *Whitchurch downe* 1653) in Devon; CHRISTCHURCH ((*æt*) *Tweoxneam* ‘between the river’ ASC, *Cristescherche* 1177) in Hampshire. CHRISTCHURCH came with the foundation of the priory in the eleventh century by Edward the Confessor (Addison 1987:43).

## Church as an affix

There are 25 names in which *church* appears as an affix. When *church* is added to the old village names such as FENTON ‘a village with a marsh’ or WILNE ‘a willow’ and makes the new names such as CHURCH FENTON or CHURCH WILNE, we call it an ‘affix’: e. g. CHURCH BRAMPTON (OE *brōm* ‘broom’ + OE *tūn*), CHURCH SLADE (OE *slād* ‘a valley’) in Northamptonshire; CHURCH BROUGH (OE *burh* ‘a fortified place’) in Westmorland; CHURCH KNOWLE (OE *cnoll* ‘a hill top’), WINTERBORNE WHITCHURCH (sited at the river WINTERBORNE) in Dorset; CHURCH BROUGHTON (OE *brōc* ‘a brook, a stream’ + OE *tūn*), CHURCH WILNE (OE *wilign* ‘a willow’), CHURCH GRESLEY (OE *grēosn* ‘gravel, a pebble’ + OE *lēah* ‘a wood, a clearing in a wood’) in Derbyshire; CHURCH EATON (OE *ēg* ‘an island’ + OE *tūn*), CASTLE CHURCH in Staffordshire; CHURCH LAWTON (OE *hlāw* ‘a mound, a hill’ + OE *tūn*), CHURCH COPPENHALL (OE personal name *Coppa* + OE *halh* ‘a nook, a corner of land’), CHURCH MINSHULL (OE personal name *Mann* or *Monn* + OE *scylfe* ‘a shelf’) in Cheshire; CHURCH STRETTON (OE *stræt* ‘a Roman

road, a paved road' + OE *tūn*) in Shropshire; CHURCH FENTON (OE *fenn* 'a fen, a marsh' + OE *tūn*) in the West Riding of Yorkshire; CHURCHAM (OE *hamm* 'an enclosure, a meadow') in Gloucestershire; CHURCH ENSTONE (OE personal name *Enna* + OE *stān* 'a stone') in Oxfordshire. The affix is usually a separate word, appearing often as a descriptive word to distinguish two old villages with the same name: e. g. CHURCH BRAMPTON (*Branton(e)* 1086) in Northamptonshire is situated very near to CHAPEL BRAMPTON (*Brantone* 1086). EAST LANGTON CHURCH and WEST LANGTON CHURCH in Leicestershire are only some 1.5 km away from each other. Both names were *Lang(e)tone* in 1806, probably being one village originally. HIGHNAM is sited some 2 km away from CHURCHAM in Gloucestershire. Both names were *Hamme* in 1086. In some names *church* substituted other old prefixes: CHURCH BROUGH in Westmorland was *Nether Brough* in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; CHURCH BROUGHTON in Derbyshire was *Kyrk(e)bro(u)ghton* in the fourteenth century; the form of CHURCH LAWTON in Cheshire fluctuated between *church* and *kirk* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (*Chirche-* 1333, *Kirke-* 1356, *Kerke-* 1402, *Churche-* 1489), CHURCH WILNE in Derbyshire was recorded as *Kyrke Wyllne* 1502, *Lytle Wylney* 1547, *Little Welne* 1610 in contrast to the adjacent village GREAT WILNE (*Magna Wilne* 1265–91). CHURCH LAWFORD in Warwickshire was once *Kirkelalleford* 1204 but came to be replaced by *church* as *Chirchelalleford* in 1235.<sup>6</sup>

### ***Kirk* as a first element**

There are 48 names in which *kirk* appears as a first element. A striking and interesting small group of this category is the 'inverted compound'. in which the word order is Celtic, i. e. the word *kirk* precedes the specifying word, here the saint's name: KIRKOSWALD 'Saint Oswald's church' (*Karcoswald* 1167), KIRKANDREWS 'Saint Andrew's church' (*Kirchand'r* 1165), KIRKANDREWS UPON EDEN (*Kirkandres, eccl. sci' Andres* 1200), KIRKBRIDE 'Saint Bride's church' (*Chirchebrid* 1163), KIRKSANTON 'Saint Sanctan's church' (*Santacherche* 1086) in Cumberland. This phenomenon may be attributed to a large number of Scandinavian and Irish settlers from the ninth century, probably the so called *Gall-Gáidil* 'foreign Gaels' who arrived in Northwest England (Ekwall 1918:54–55). This name-type occurs frequently in Southwest Scotland and the Isle of Man: e. g. KIRKEBRYDE in Wigtownshire; KIRKANDERS and KIRKCARSEL in Kirkcudbright; KIRK SANCTON, KIRK ANDREAS and KIRK BRIDE in the Isle of Man (MacQueen 1956:137–138 and Kneen 1927:133+551+575).

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6 However, in some cases the affixing seems to have happened rather arbitrarily (Cameron 1961:100–109).

Like *church*, *kirk* as a first element forms compounds with habitative and topographical elements. What makes *kirk* differ from *church* is its more frequent combination with topographical elements. There are only eight names containing the habitative elements. Four of these were perhaps originally English, combined with the OE habitative elements *tūn*, *ham*: KIRTON in Lincolnshire (*Chirchetune* 1086); KIRTON in Nottinghamshire was partially scandinavianised as *Kirchetona* in the thirteenth century; KIRKHAM in the East Riding of Yorkshire and Lancashire, both of which were *Chercham* and *Chircheham* in 1086 respectively.

Compared to a small group of habitative compound names in *kirk*, there are 35 names in which *kirk* is combined with topographical elements. Most of them form Scandinavian-English hybrids. Gelling argues (1981:8–9) that names like KIRKHAUGH (*Kyrkhalwe* 1254) in Northumberland and KIRKLEY (*Kirkelea* 1086) in Suffolk, both being in non-Scandinavian areas, were probably originally English simplex names like *\*Haugh* or *\*Lea*, to which the Scandinavians added their element *kirk* later because the English people rarely used the topographical words following *cirice*. Fellows-Jensen takes the view (1987:297) that the hybrid names are not the production of the prefixing, but rather the coinage by the Scandinavians in the Viking period or by their descendants in the following centuries in which *kirk* was generally accepted into the English language. In fact, the first records of some names were spelled in an English fashion and they later adopted a Scandinavian spelling, i. e. the northern English dialect: e. g. KIRKDALE in Lancashire (*Chirchedele* 1086); KIRKSTEAD in Lincolnshire (*Chirchesteda* 1157). Another explanation which she formulated is that some names came with the presence of a church, which would not agree with the assumption of the simplex-form: e. g. KIRKLEES in the West Riding of Yorkshire had a small priory of Cistercian nuns established in the twelfth century, KIRKDALE in Lancashire is situated at the road which leads to WALTON where there is a parish church; KIRKDALE in the North Riding of Yorkshire probably goes back to a Scandinavian who rebuilt a church before the Conquest (EPNS V:66): “Orm Gamalsuna bought the church of St. Gregory when it was badly in disrepair and ruinous, and he had it rebuilt from the ground for Christ and St Gregory in the days of King Edward and the earl Tosti”. In the light of this fact, we can assume that there were a large number of Scandinavian inhabitants and their descendants in the northern parts of England and therefore the scandinavianised forms were preferred and more frequently used. However, these names do not belong to the non-Scandinavian areas. The question inevitably arises whether names like KIRKHAUGH or KIRKLEY are to be treated in a compatible way with them.

### ***Kirk* as a second element**

In only 20 names *kirk* occurs as a second element. They fall mainly into four groups: saints' names; personal names; adjectives and nouns; denotation of a cairn.



Many names in which *kirk* is combined with saints' names and personal names show a Germanic word-order and often go back to the Anglo-Saxon origin: FELIXKIRK in the North Riding of Yorkshire (*Fillyxchurche* in the sixteenth century) contains the name of Saint Felix of Dunwich, bishop of the East Angles (Fellows-Jensen 1987:302); OSWALDKIRK in the North Riding of Yorkshire (*Oswaldcherca* 1086) the name of Saint Oswald, the king of Northumbria; ROMALDKIRK in the North Riding of Yorkshire (*Rumoldesc(h)erce* 1086) the name of Saint Romald, probably a grandson of Penda, King of Mercia (Fellows-Jensen 1987:302); ALGARKIRK in Lincolnshire (*Alfgare* 1194) the OE personal name *Ælfgār* or ON *Alfgeirr*; COLKIRK in Norfolk (*Colechirca*, *Colekirka* 1086) the OE personal name *Cola* or ON *Koli*. It is noticeable that many names of this type are scandinavianisations of older English names in *-cirice* in contrast to KIRKOSWALD-type names in Cumberland which show the traces of an intensive Scandinavian and Celtic influence from the tenth century.

Adjectives and nouns point to the structure or the location of a church, e. g. FELKIRK in the West Riding of Yorkshire is compounded with ON *fīpl* 'a board, a plank'. It was recorded *Felechirc(h)a* in 1119. The OE *whīt* modifies *kirk* in WHITKIRK in the West Riding of Yorkshire (*Whitechirche* 1154). Like WHITCHURCH, the name refers to the stone construction of a church. SKEWKIRK HALL and WOODKIRK in the West Riding of Yorkshire indicate the location of a church. The ON *skógr* 'a wood' is a northern alternative for OE *wudu* 'a wood'. There was a cell of Nostell Priory in SKEWKIRK. According to Smith (1956 I:225), the OE *hall* referred to 'a hall, a large residence, a manor house'. In WOODKIRK the Earl William of Warren founded a religious institution at the beginning of the twelfth century (Peacock 1901:513).

There are five names in which *kirk* is not related to a church building but denotes a cairn or ancient stone remains which were probably considered to be the debris of an old church: KIRK STONE, KIRKSTONE PASS, TOWTOPKIRK in Westmorland and OGDENKIRK, MAIDENKIRK in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

## ***Kirk* as an affix**

There are 23 names in which *kirk* appears as an affix: e. g. CAR COLSTON (ON personal name *Kolr* + OE *tūn*) in Nottinghamshire, KIRKBURTON (OE *byrh* genitive singular of *burh* 'a fortified place' + OE *tūn*); KIRK DEIGHTON (OE *dīc* 'a ditch' + OE *tūn*); KIRK HAMMERTON (OE *hamor-wyrt* 'hammer-wort, black hellebore' + OE *tūn*); KIRKHEATON (OE *hēah* 'high' + OE *tūn*); KIRK SMEATON (OE family name *Smīð* + OE *tūn*); KIRK BRAMWITH (OE *brōm* 'broom' + OE *wudu* 'a wood, wood'); KIRK SANDAL (OE *sand* 'sand' + OE *halh* 'a nook or corner of land') in the West Riding of Yorkshire; KIRKLINTON (situated on the river LYNE); KIRKLINTON HALL; KIRKCAMBECK (sited on the river CAM, probably British

*cambāco* ‘the crooked stream’ (Ekwall 1928:65)) in Cumberland; KIRK MERRINGTON (OE personal name *Mæra* + OE *ingtūn* ‘a village of people’) in Durham; KIRK LEAVINGTON (the adjacent place CASTLE LEAVINGTON (*Levetona*, *Lentun(e)* 1086) is sited on the river LEVEN); KIRK LEATHAM (OE *west* ‘west’ + OE *hliðum* dative plural of *hlið* ‘a slope’) in the North Riding of Yorkshire; KIRKBURN (OE *burna* ‘a spring, a stream’ + OE *hūs* ‘a house’<sup>7</sup>); KIRK ELLA (OE personal name *Ælfa* + OE *lēah* ‘a wood, a clearing in a wood’) in the East Riding of Yorkshire; KIRK HALLAM (OE *halum* dative plural of *halh* ‘a nook, a corner of land’); KIRK LANGLEY (OE *lang* ‘long’ + OE *lēah* ‘a wood, a clearing in a wood’) in Derbyshire. Owing to the fact that these names have a village in the vicinity whose second element is the same as the one in *kirk*, we may assume that the affix *kirk* was bestowed in order to distinguish one place from the other: e. g. LITTLE BAMPTON is situated in the vicinity of KIRKBAMPTON (*Parua Bampton* 1227), NORTH DEIGHTON and KIRK DEIGHTON were both *Distone* 1086 and recorded as *Nordictun* 1197 and *Suth Dithon* 1285 respectively, KIRK SANDAL and LONG SANDAL were recorded first as *Sandale* and *Sandalie*, *Sandela*, *Sandal(i)a* in 1806 and as *Kyrk(e)sandale* and *Parvasandalie* in the thirteenth century. In the light of the fact that the prefixing occurred between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, Fellows-Jensen argues (1987:296) that *kirk* was affixed to the names not by Scandinavians, but rather by Englishmen whose dialects contained the loan-word *kirk*. Taking into account that most names became the names of the parish, the element *kirk* pointed not only to a church building but also indicated the significance of a church as an administrative unit.

### ***Kir(k)by* as a first element**

There are four instances in the northern parts of England in which *Kirkby* or *Kirby* appears as a single element: KIRKBY in Lancashire, KIRBY in the North Riding of Yorkshire, KIRKBY in the West Riding of Yorkshire and KIRKBY in Lincolnshire. Most names contained the palatalised form *Cherchebi* in 1086 and *kirk* displaced *Cherche* from the twelfth century.

In addition, there are numerous names whose first record is *Chichebi* or *Cherchebi* or partially palatalised like *Kirkchabi*, to which another element (habitative: 6, topographical: 12, nouns: 2 and proper names: 5) was later added: e. g. KIRKBY FLEETHAM (OE *flēot* ‘a stream’ + OE *hām* ‘a village’), KIRBY HILL, KIRBY KNOWLE (OE *cnoll* ‘a hill top’), KIRBY WISKE (relating to the river WISKE from OE *wisc* ‘a marshy meadow’) and KIRBY RAVENSWORTH (OE/ON personal name

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7 The first spellings (*Burnous* 1086, *ecclesiam de Burnnus* 1121–35/1155–8, *Burnus* 1180) represent a compound of *burna* and *hūs* meaning ‘a house by the stream’ although the second element disappears in the course of time (EPNS XIV:166).

*Hrafn* + ON *vað* ‘a ford’) in the North Riding of Yorkshire; KIRBY UNDERDALE (ON personal name *Hundólfr* + OE *dæl* ‘a valley’) and KIRBY GRINDALYTHE (OE *cran* ‘a crane’ + OE *dæl* ‘a valley’ + ON *hlið* ‘a slope, a hillside’) in the East Riding of Yorkshire; KIRBY HALL, KIRKBY MALHAM (ON *mǫl* ‘gravelly soil’ or ON *melr* ‘a sand-bank’ + OE *hām* ‘a village’), KIRKBY MALZEARD (relating to the old place-name MALZEARD), KIRKBY OVERBLOW (OE *ōra-blāwere* ‘a smelter’) and KIRKBY WHARFE (relating to the river WHARFE on which KIRKBY WHARFE is situated) in the West Riding of Yorkshire; KIRKBY LONSDALE (relating to the river LUNE, in whose valley KIRKBY LONSDALE is situated) in Westmorland; KIRBY HALL in Northamptonshire; KIRKBY LAYTHORPE (ON personal name *Leiðulf* + ON *þorp* ‘a village’), KIRKBY UNDERWOOD (OE *under* ‘under’ + OE *wudu* ‘a wood’); KIRKBY GREEN and KIRKBY ON BAIN (situated at the HORNCastle CANAL which flows into the river BAIN) in Lincolnshire; KIRKBY IN ASHFIELD (OE *æsc* ‘an ash-tree’ + OE *feld* ‘an open field’) in Nottinghamshire; KIRKBY IRELETH (genitive plural of ON *Íri* ‘an Irishman’ + ON/OE *hlið* ‘a slope’) in Lancashire. Although *kirk* entered into the English language, *bý* remained exclusively in Scandinavian use. This would lead to the assumption that *kir(k)by* was most likely employed by the Scandinavian settlers (Fellows-Jensen 1987:298). The Scandinavians applied *kir(k)by* without doubt appellatively to many villages with a church, which were already established in the Anglo-Saxon period (Fellows-Jensen 1987:298). As Gelling states (1981:8), they could do so because there were still comparatively few villages with churches in the ninth and tenth centuries. As the villages expanded and their contact with adjacent areas grew in the course of time, these numerous KIR(K)BYs would have needed an additional characterisation to be distinguished from other names.

There are also names in *kir(k)by*, in which a family name or a personal name is employed. Most names, similar to other aforementioned names, took the *Cherchebi*-form in 1806 and were distinguished from nearby places through the addition of the name of a land owner or of an owner of a church: e. g. KIRBY BEDEN in Norfolk (*Kerkebi* 1086) goes back to John de Bidon who held the land before 1212; KIRKBY MALLORY (*Cherchebi* 1086) in Leicestershire belonged to the Mallorys in the twelfth century and KIRBKY BELLARS (*Chirchebi* 1086) in Leicestershire was held by Hamo Beler; KIRBKY THORE (*Ki-*, *Kyrk(e)bi*, *-by thore* 1179) in Westmorland might go back to the ON personal name *þórir*; KIRKBY STEPHEN (Cherkaby Stephan 1090–7) in Westmorland might refer to the abbot Stephen.

## ***Kir(k)by* as a second element**

There are fewer instances in which *kir(k)by* appears as a second element. All names were recorded as *Cherchebi*-form in 1086 and obtained another word giving more precise information on the location of a place: EAST KIRKBY in Lincolnshire,

the abbey Revesby being situated in the east; SOUTH KIRKBY in the West Riding of Yorkshire, the affix *sud* 'south' being used for the distinction from the old village KIRKBY IN PONTEFRACT, which is situated about 10km away in the north; WEST KIRBY in Cheshire, situated at the western part of a peninsula. On the other hand, one instance MONKS KIRBY in Warwickshire goes back to the monks of St. Nicholas of Angers to whom Geoffrey de Wirce gave land in 1077 (EPNS IV:112).

### ***Kir(k)by* as a family name**

Interestingly enough, in some cases *kir(k)by* is derived from a name of a family who probably used to hold the land or to live there: e. g. KIRBY MOOR in Cumberland is related to *Sireda de Kirkby*; KIRKBY HO in Westmorland being named after the family *Ellis de Kirkeby* or *Thomas and George Kirkby*, KIRBY FM in Warwickshire is related to two families *Walter de Kervy* and *Walter de Kyrkeby*, KIRBY HO in Berkshire being named after *James Kirkby* who built a house there and owned a land in the adjacent village INKPEN. KIRBY'S MANOR FM in Hertfordshire is probably related to *John Kirkeby* who was recorded 1430; HORTON KIRBY in Kent is associated to *Gilbertus de Kirkeby* who was a tenant there, KIRBY HALL in Essex is connected with *Richard Kirby* whose name was recorded in the thirteenth century. While *church* was frequently combined with *atte* in the ME period and indicated the presence of a church, *kir(k)by* took a preposition *de*, often used after the Conquest, referring rather to an administrative occupation.

### ***Kirkby* as an affix**

KIRKBY HARDWICH in Nottinghamshire is the only name in which *kirkby* appears as an affix. It was *Herdewīc* in 1232 containing the OE compound *heorde-wīc* 'a herd farm'. In the fourteenth century it was called *Herdwyk juxta Kyrkeby*. *Kyrkeby* may refer to the neighbouring place KIRKBY IN ASHFIELD which was still called *Kierkebi* at that time.

### **Distribution of *church*, *kirk* and *kir(k)by*<sup>8</sup>**

164 names in *church* (map 1) spread across the whole England. However, an intensive occurrence can be seen from the South to the North Midlands. In comparison,

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<sup>8</sup> The small superscript numbers on the right of the place-names indicate the numbers of the names localised on the distribution maps 1, 2 and 3.

there are no names in Durham, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Rutland and Huntingdonshire. In Cornwall, Sussex and northern England names appear only sporadically. It must be noted that, in spite of the thorough replacement of Celtic languages by English in the Anglo-Saxon period, the westernmost part of Cornwall remained Celtic and Cornish was spoken there until 1800 when it was extinguished virtually altogether. The equivalence for church in Cornwall is the Celtic word *llan* or *lann* meaning 'a piece of land', which also referred to a 'cemetery'. With the spread of Christianity, it then obtained the meaning of 'a church'. In fact, names in *lann* occur intensively in Cornwall (Yamaguchi 1993:Karte 3). MARHAMCHURCH<sup>142</sup> would be a trace of an English woman Saint Merwenn (Padel 1988:115). In Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Norfolk, where the first phase of the Scandinavian settlement took place, there are only two names in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Both of them are a relatively new coinage: CHURCH FIELD<sup>9</sup> appears only in 1843 and CHURCH FENTON<sup>10</sup> was *Kyrk(e)ffenton* until 1641. In Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and the coastal area of Cheshire, being the Norwegian settlement regions, *church* is mainly a late occurrence, i. e. apart from WOODCHURCH<sup>14</sup> and CHURCH<sup>12</sup>, other names are recorded after 1500: e. g. CHRISTY BANK<sup>6</sup> and CHURCH TOWN<sup>8</sup> were *Kirsty Bank* 1829 and *Kirktowne* 1535 respectively. OLD CHURCH<sup>4</sup> was still *New Kirk* in 1789. In Northumberland, a non-Scandinavian region, there are two old *church-names*, both of which were recorded in the thirteenth century: CHIRDON<sup>1</sup> and CHIRTON<sup>2</sup>.<sup>9</sup> In the region from Northamptonshire to the inland area of Cheshire, including North-Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire, most names either originated after 1500 or contained the affix *church* between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries: NEWCHURCH COMMON<sup>16</sup>, CHURCH HILL<sup>17</sup>, CHURCH MINSHULL<sup>18</sup>, CHURCH HO<sup>19</sup>, CHURCH COPPENHALL<sup>20</sup> in Cheshire; CHURCH EATON<sup>27</sup>, CASTLE CHURCH<sup>28</sup>, CHURCH EATON COMMON<sup>29</sup>, CHURCH HILL<sup>30</sup>, CHURCHBRIDGE<sup>31</sup> in Staffordshire; CHURCHDALE HALL<sup>32</sup>, CHURCH HILL<sup>33</sup>, CHURCH TOWN<sup>34</sup>, CHURCH FIELDS FM<sup>35</sup>, CHURCHBALK<sup>36</sup>, CHURCH BROUGHTON<sup>37</sup>, CHURCH WILNE<sup>38</sup>, CHURCH GRESLEY<sup>39</sup>, CHURCH FLATS FM<sup>40</sup> in Derbyshire; CHURCH HILL<sup>41</sup>, in Northamptonshire; WEST LANGTON CHURCH<sup>51</sup>, EAST LANGTON CHURCH<sup>52</sup> in Leicestershire. In addition, CHURCHFIELD FM<sup>47</sup> and ACHURCH<sup>48</sup> in Northamptonshire had *kirk* during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries instead of *church*. The dense concentration of *church-names* in southern Herefordshire would indicate a certain mixture of Celtic and Germanic peoples.<sup>10</sup> In most of these names *church* replaced the Celtic equivalence *llan*: e. g. LITTLE DEWCHURCH<sup>65</sup>/MUCH DEWCHURCH<sup>68</sup> (*Lann Deui Ros Cerion* 1130); KENDERCHURCH<sup>69</sup> (*Lann Cinitir* 1130); KENTCHURCH<sup>70</sup> (*Lann Cein* 1130); MICHAELCHURCH<sup>71</sup> (*Lann mihacgel cil luch* 1130).

9 Ekwall suggests (1960:105) OE *cierr* 'bend' for the first element of CHIRDON, which is sited on a winding stream.

10 Names in *lann* appear very densely in this part of Herefordshire (Yamaguchi 1993:Karte 3).

In contrast to *church-names*, 91 names in *kirk* (map 2) are situated in northern and northeastern England. They show almost a complementary distribution with *church-names*. What is particularly significant is that there is an overlapping of names in *church* and *kirk* in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland. The scandinavianised or prefixed names occur frequently in these regions: e. g. KIRKBRIDE<sup>15</sup>, KIRKDALE<sup>40</sup>, BRIDEKIRK<sup>37</sup>, KIRK IRETON<sup>79</sup>, CAR COLSTON<sup>84</sup>. The most frequent occurrence of the scandinavianisation of *cirice*, however, takes place in three Ridings of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Nottinghamshire, which would correspond to an intensive Scandinavian settlement in the ninth century: e. g. ROMALDKIRK<sup>41</sup>, OSWALDKIRK<sup>48</sup>, KIRKHAM<sup>51</sup>, FELKIRK<sup>73</sup>, KIRTON<sup>82</sup>, KIRKSTEAD<sup>85</sup>, KIRTON<sup>86</sup>, COLKIRK<sup>89</sup>. One further name in the northernmost part of Suffolk, namely KIRKLEY<sup>90</sup>, might have been, owing to its geographical location, also scandinavianised although there is no English evidence in the record. In Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire there are also scandinavianised names: e.g. KIRKBRIDE<sup>15</sup>, KIRKSANTON<sup>28</sup>, KIRKHAM<sup>38</sup>, ORMSKIRK<sup>39</sup>, KIRKNEWTON<sup>1</sup> and KIRKWHELPINGTON<sup>2</sup> in Northumberland and KIRK MERRINGTON<sup>4</sup> in Durham appeared first as an English compound, namely *Niwetona*, *Welpinton* and *Mærintun* respectively. Both names KIRKLEATHAM<sup>42</sup> and KIRK LEAVINGTON<sup>43</sup>, at the northernmost border of the North Riding of Yorkshire also obtained the affix *kirk* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the light of this knowledge, KIRKHAUGH<sup>3</sup> situated in the westernmost part of Northumberland might have originally been, in view of its geographical location, an English simplex, as Gelling argues (1981:9).

Compared to the distribution of names in *kirk*, 48 names in *kir(k)by* (map 3) spread more sparsely but more widely in England. What is conspicuous in this distribution is that five names, derived from a family name, occur in the South: KIRBY FM<sup>43</sup>, KIRBY'S MANOR FM<sup>44</sup>, KIRBY HALL<sup>45</sup>, KIRBY HO<sup>47</sup>, HORTON KIRBY<sup>48</sup>. The concentration of *kir(k)by* is to be seen in the North Midlands and three Ridings of Yorkshire. While *kirk-names* in Cumberland and the northern part of Westmorland have a dense concentration, *kir(k)by* is almost empty in these regions. This fact may support what Fellows-Jensen states (1972:6): "It is generally accepted that the village names in *-bý* in England were given by the Danish settlers". However, because of the affinity between Danish and Norwegian languages the Norwegians would have learned *bý* without any problems as Fellows-Jensen claims (1972:6): "The use of the element *bý* in the sense "village" would seem to have penetrated to the north and west from the areas of densest Danish settlement and there been adopted by the Norwegian settlers".

The above mentioned remarks result in the following subdivisions (map 4):

- I The solid line indicates the northernmost border of names in *church*. Names in *kirk* and *kir(k)by* appear almost exclusively to the north and east of this line. The frequent occurrence of the scandinavianised forms of *chirchebi* is very striking.
- II The interrupted line marks the southern border of names in *kirk* and *kir(k)by*. The line does not go beyond the southernmost border of the Danelaw except for

MONKS KIRBY<sup>42</sup>. In the parts south of this line (except for the area V) names are almost exclusively *church*, many of which are of an old coinage before 1500. Three other names in *kir(k)by* are all derived from family names: KIRBY'S MANOR FM<sup>44</sup> in Hertfordshire; KIRBY HO<sup>47</sup> in Berkshire and HORTON KIRBY<sup>48</sup> in Kent.

- III The area between both of these lines from Lincolnshire to the Northwest is a mixed area, in which names in *kirk* and *kir(k)by* as well as names in *church* occur. Most names in *church* are either of a new coinage after 1500 or adopted the affix *church* in the later period. In this area the scandinavianisation occurs and there are three anglicized names: CHURCH TOWN<sup>34</sup> in Derbyshire; CHRISTY BANK<sup>6</sup>, CHURCH TOWN<sup>8</sup> in Westmorland.
- IV The area surrounded by the dotted line is divided from the areas I and III because it is characterised by names in *church* coined before 1500 and English names prefixed by *kirk*. Here, north of the Humber, was once the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Northumbria.
- V The area surrounded by the bold, interrupted and solid lines possesses many minor names in *church*. These parts of the Danelaw from Essex to Northamptonshire might roughly correspond to the area which was recaptured by Wessex in the tenth century.

## Summary

With the presentation of the place-names containing *church*, *kirk* and *kir(k)by* and with their distribution, we have illustrated their heterogeneous combinations with many other elements and their complementary distribution which would reflect the early settlements of the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians. *Church*, *kirk* and *kir(k)by* are, in addition, used more frequently as specifying (first) elements than as specified (second). As affixes they also appear as specifying elements in single word forms. The most frequently compounding elements are habitative in *church* and topographical elements in *kirk* and *kir(k)by*. When these elements appear as specified elements, however, they tend to be compounded with adjectives or nouns which define the church in terms of appearance, construction, location and so forth. Habitative or topographical elements do not appear at all as first elements compounded with *church*, *kirk* and *kir(k)by*.

What is significant with regard to the traces of the interrelations of the peoples are the inverted compounds of *kirk* with a saint's name in Cumberland, the scandinavianised names in *-kirk* in the North and the Germanic compounds of *church* with a saint's name or a personal name in Herefordshire. It is striking that, while the compound names in *-kirk* appear as *-church*-form in the first record, the inverted compounds in *kir(k)-* are first recorded in a Celtic fashion with only one exception KIRKSANTON (*Santacherch* 1086) in Cumberland. In the light of this knowledge, we

may assume that the inverted compounds are rather of a non-English coinage indicating the dominance of the Scandinavian and Celtic inhabitants or the *Gall-Gáidil* in the Northwest. On the other hand, the habitation of Anglo-Saxons before the Viking period in the North might be supposed on the basis of the names in *-kirk* compounding with an English saint's name, an English personal name or of the English compounds before the prefixing with *kirk*. The scandinavianisation of these names probably owes a good deal to the adoption of *kirk* into the standard English language in the North. Accordingly, we may suppose that the names in *-kirk* were coined either by the Scandinavians or by the Englishmen who lived in the North and used *kirk* for 'a church'. In comparison, the Celtic *llan* or *lann* in Herefordshire did not enter into standard use and was therefore replaced by the dominant English word *church*.

*Kir(k)by* gives us a different picture insofar as most names were employed originally as a single unit and probably by the Scandinavians. The palatalised form *cherchebi* in the eleventh century was then replaced by <k>, to which other words were finally added as a distinction when the necessity arose. Moreover, there are seven names in *kir(k)by* which have lost the original Scandinavian meaning 'a village with a church' but derive their name from a family name. These names are situated mostly in the southern parts of England.

It should also be mentioned that *church* and *kirk* would, with the growth of villages and the development of the parochial system in England, have been appropriate words and were used for distinguishing one village from its adjacent village. These names appear more frequently in the northern parts (Area I and III) than in the southern parts (Area II) of England, where the majority of names in *church* occurs as a specified element, e. g. all of WHITCHURCH. Most of these are the parish-names.

## The list of the located place-names in numerical order

### Names in *church*

1 Chirton (Nb)	14 Woodchurch (Ch)	27 Church Eaton (St)
2 Chirton (Nb)	15 Churton (Ch)	28 Castle Church (St)
3 Church Hill (Cu)	16 Newchurch Common (ch)	29 Church Eaton Common (St)
4 Old Church (Cu)	17 Church Hill (Ch)	30 Church Hill (St)
5 Church Ho (Cu)	18 Church Minshull (Ch)	31 Churchbridge (St)
6 Christy Bank (We)	19 Church Ho (Ch)	32 Churchdale Hall (Db)
7 Church Brough (We)	20 Church Coppenhall (Ch)	33 Church Hill (Db)
8 Church Town (We)	21 Church Lawton (Ch)	34 Church Town (Db)
9 Church Field (YW)	22 Whitchurch (Sa)	35 Church Fields Fm (Db)
10 Church Fenton (YW)	23 Baschurch (Sa)	36 Churchbalk (Db)
11 Churchtown (La)	24 Chirbury (Sa)	37 Church Broughton (Db)
12 Church (La)	25 Church Stretton (Sa)	38 Church Wilne (Db)
13 Newchurch (La)	26 Hanchurch (St)	39 Church Gresley (Db)



40 Church Flats Fm (Db)	82 Pucklechurch (Gl)	124 Churchill (D)
41 Church Hill (Nt)	83 Church Icomb (Gl)	125 Churchill (D)
42 Church Fm (C)	84 Church Enstone (O)	126 Lower Cheriton (D)
43 Church End (C)	85 Churchill (O)	127 Higher Cheriton (D)
44 Church End (C)	86 Churchill Heath Fm (O)	128 Churchill Fm (D)
45 Church End (C)	87 Sarsden (O)	129 Cheriton Fitzpaine (D)
46 Church Fm (Nth)	88 Sarsden Lodge (O)	130 Cherubeer (D)
47 Churchfield Fm (Nth)	89 Churchill Mill (O)	131 Honeychurch (D)
48 Achurch (Nth)	90 Whitchurch Hill (O)	132 Cheriton Bishop (D)
49 Church Brampton (Nth)	91 Whitchurch (O)	133 Eastchurch (D)
50 Church Slade (Nth)	92 Whitchurch (Bk)	134 St Marychurch (D)
51 West Langton Church (Lei)	93 Stockenchurch (Bk)	135 Churston Ferrers (D)
52 East Langton Church (Lei)	94 Church End (Hrt)	136 Charford (D)
53 Church End (Wa)	95 Church End (Hrt)	137 Churchstow (D)
54 Church End (Wa)	96 Churchgate (Hrt)	138 Cheristow (D)
55 Churchover (Wa)	97 Church Fm (Hrt)	139 Whitchurch Down (D)
56 Church Lawford (Wa)	98 Church End (Hrt)	140 Whitchurch (D)
57 Dunchurch (Wa)	99 Church Fm (Hrt)	141 Hawkchurch (D)
58 Offchurch (Wa)	100 Northchurch (Hrt)	142 Marhamchurch (Co)
59 Whitchurch (Wa)	101 Church Fm (Ess)	143 Chescombe Fm (Do)
60 Cherrington (Wa)	102 Berechurch (Ess)	144 Winterborne Whitchurch (Do)
61 Churchill (Wo)	103 Churchhouse Fm (Ess)	145 Wildchurch Bottom (Do)
62 Alvechurch (Wo)	104 Church End (Ess)	146 Church Knowle (Do)
63 Churchill (Wo)	105 Churchend (Ess)	147 Churchills (Wt)
64 Church Lench (Wo)	106 Church Hall (Ess)	148 Newchurch (Wt)
65 Little Dewchurch (He)	107 Southchurch (Ess)	149 Bonchurch (Wt)
66 Vowchurch (He)	108 Hornchurch (Ess)	150 Christchurch (Ha)
67 Michaelchurch Escley (He)	109 Churchgate Street (Ess)	151 Whitchurch (Ha)
68 Much Dewchurch (He)	110 Church End (Mx)	152 Cheriton (Ha)
69 Kenderchurch (He)	111 Whitchurch (Mx)	153 Church Croft (Sr)
70 Kentchurch (He)	112 Church Fm (Brk)	154 Church End (Sr)
71 Michaelchurch (He)	113 Church End (Brk)	155 Church Town (Sr)
72 Whitchurch (He)	114 Church Fm (Brk)	156 Church Wood (Sx)
73 Churches Fm (Gl)	115 Church Fm (Brk)	157 Estchurch (K)
74 Church End (Gl)	116 Chirton (W)	158 Lillechurch (K)
75 Ashchurch (Gl)	117 Ivychurch (W)	159 Upchurch (K)
76 Churcham (Gl)	118 Whitchurch (So)	160 Cheriton (K)
77 Church Hill (Gl)	119 Churchill (So)	161 Woodchurch (K)
78 Church End (Gl)	120 North Cheriton (So)	162 Newchurch (K)
79 Churchend (Gl)	121 South Cheriton (So)	163 Dymchurch (K)
80 Cherington (Gl)	122 Churingford (D)	164 Ivychurch (K)
81 Church Fm (Gl)	123 Cheriton (D)	

## Names in *kirk*

- |                               |                         |                         |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Kirknewton (Nb)             | 32 Towntop Kirk (We)    | 63 Ogden Kirk (YW)      |
| 2 Kirkwhelpington (Nb)        | 33 Kirkstone Pass (We)  | 64 Kirkstall (YW)       |
| 3 Kirkhaugh (Nb)              | 34 Kirk Stone (We)      | 65 Whitkirk (YW)        |
| 4 Kirk Merrington (Du)        | 35 Kirkthwaite (La)     | 66 Woodkirk (YW)        |
| 5 Kirkcambeck (Cu)            | 36 Kirkland (La)        | 67 Kirklees (YW)        |
| 6 Kirlinton Hall (Cu)         | 37 Bridekirk (La)       | 68 Kirkhamgate (YW)     |
| 7 Kirklington (Cu)            | 38 Kirkham (La)         | 69 Kirkheaton (YW)      |
| 8 Kirklingtonpark (Cu)        | 39 Ormskirk (La)        | 70 Kirkburton (YW)      |
| 9 Kirkhouse (Cu)              | 40 Kirkdale (La)        | 71 Kirkthorpe (YW)      |
| 10 Kirkoswald (Cu)            | 41 Romaldkirk (YN)      | 72 Kirk Smeaton (YW)    |
| 11 Kirkland (Cu)              | 42 Kirkleatham (YN)     | 73 Felkirk (YW)         |
| 12 Kirkandrews (Cu)           | 43 Kirk Leavington (YN) | 74 Kirkhouse Green (YW) |
| 13 Kirkland Ho (Cu)           | 44 Kirkless (YN)        | 75 Kirk Bramwith (YW)   |
| 14 Kirkandrews upon Eden (Cu) | 45 Cock Flat (YN)       | 76 Kirk Sandal (YW)     |
| 15 Kirkbride (Cu)             | 46 Crosslets (YN)       | 77 Dunkirk (Ch)         |
| 16 Kirkbampton (Cu)           | 47 Kirkdale (YN)        | 78 Kirk Dale (Db)       |
| 17 Kirkland Hall (Cu)         | 48 Oswaldkirk (YN)      | 79 Kirk Ireton (Db)     |
| 18 West Curthwaite (Cu)       | 49 Felixkirk (YN)       | 80 Kirk Langley (Db)    |
| 19 East Curthwaite (Cu)       | 50 Kirkbridge (YN)      | 81 Kirk Hallam (Db)     |
| 20 Islekirk Hall (Cu)         | 51 Kirkham (YE)         | 82 Kirton (Nt)          |
| 21 Kirkland Guards (Cu)       | 52 Kirkburn (YE)        | 83 Kirton Wood (Nt)     |
| 22 Bradkirk (Cu)              | 53 Kirk Ella (YE)       | 84 Car Colston (Nt)     |
| 23 Kirkhead (Cu)              | 54 Kirk Gill (YW)       | 85 Kikstead (L)         |
| 24 Kirkland (Cu)              | 55 Kirksteads (YW)      | 86 Kirton (L)           |
| 25 Kirkland How (Cu)          | 56 Kirk Syke (YW)       | 87 Algarkirk (L)        |
| 26 Kirkbarrow (Cu)            | 57 Maidenkirk (YW)      | 88 Peakirk (Nth)        |
| 27 Kirk Fell (Cu)             | 58 Kirk Sykes (YW)      | 89 Colkirk (Nf)         |
| 28 Kirksanton (Cu)            | 59 Kirk Hammerton (YW)  | 90 Kirkley (Sf)         |
| 29 Kirk Ho (We)               | 60 Skewkirk Hall (YW)   | 91 Kirton (Sf)          |
| 30 Kirkbarrow (We)            | 61 Kirk Deighton (YW)   |                         |
| 31 Kirkber (We)               | 62 Kirklands (YW)       |                         |

## Names in *kir(k)by*

- |                          |                         |                           |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Kirby Moor (Cu)        | 10 Kirby Fleetham (YN)  | 19 Kirby Hall (YW)        |
| 2 Kirby Thore (We)       | 11 Kirby Sigston (YN)   | 20 Kirby Overblow (YW)    |
| 3 Kirby Stephen (We)     | 12 Kirby (YN)           | 21 Kirby Wharfe (YW)      |
| 4 Kirby Ho (We)          | 13 Kirby Wiske (YN)     | 22 South Kirby (YW)       |
| 5 Kirby Lonsdale (We)    | 14 Kirby Knowle (YN)    | 23 Kirby (YW)             |
| 6 Kirby Ireleth (La)     | 15 Kirby Moorside (YN)  | 24 Kirby Grindalythe (YE) |
| 7 Kirby (La)             | 16 Kirby Misperton (YN) | 25 Kirby Underdale (YE)   |
| 8 Kirby Ravensworth (YN) | 17 Kirby Malzeard (YW)  | 26 West Kirby (Ch)        |
| 9 Kirby Hill (YN)        | 18 Kirby Malham (YW)    | 27 Kirby Hardwich (Nt)    |

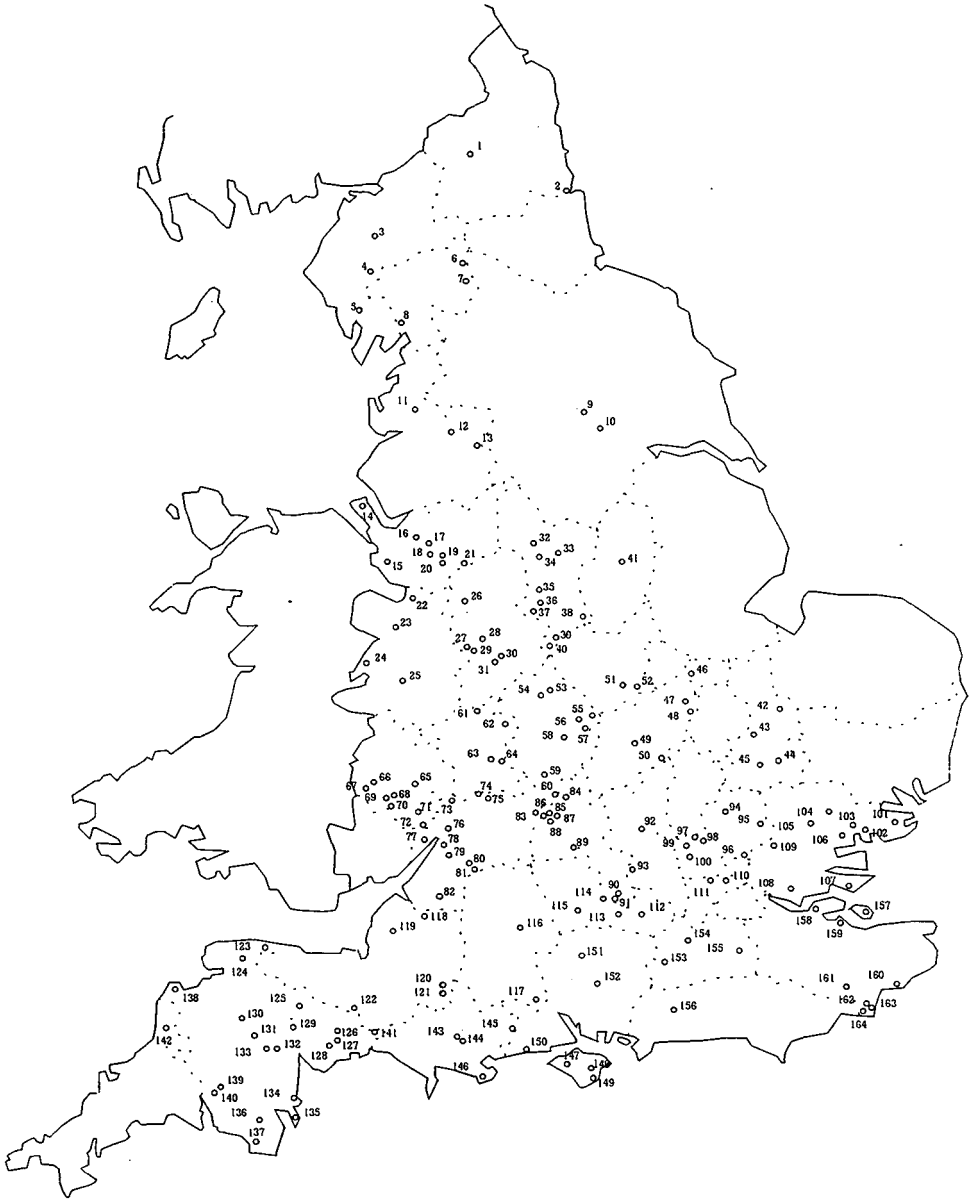
28 Kirkby in Ashfield (Nt)	35 Kirkby Laythorpe (L)	42 Monks Kirby (Wa)
29 Kirkby Woodhouse (Nt)	36 Kirkby Underwood (L)	43 Kirby Fm (Wa)
30 Kirkby Forest (Nt)	37 Kirby Bellars (Lei)	44 Kirby's Manor Fm (Hrt)
31 Kirkby (L)	38 Kirby Mallory (Lei)	45 Kirby Hall (Ess)
32 East Kirkby (L)	39 Kirkby Bedon (Nf)	46 Kirby le Soken (Ess)
33 Kirkby on Bain (L)	40 Kirby Cane (Nf)	47 Kirby Ho (Brk)
34 Kirkby Green (L)	41 Kirby Hall (Nth)	48 Horton Kirby (K)

## Abbreviations and bibliography

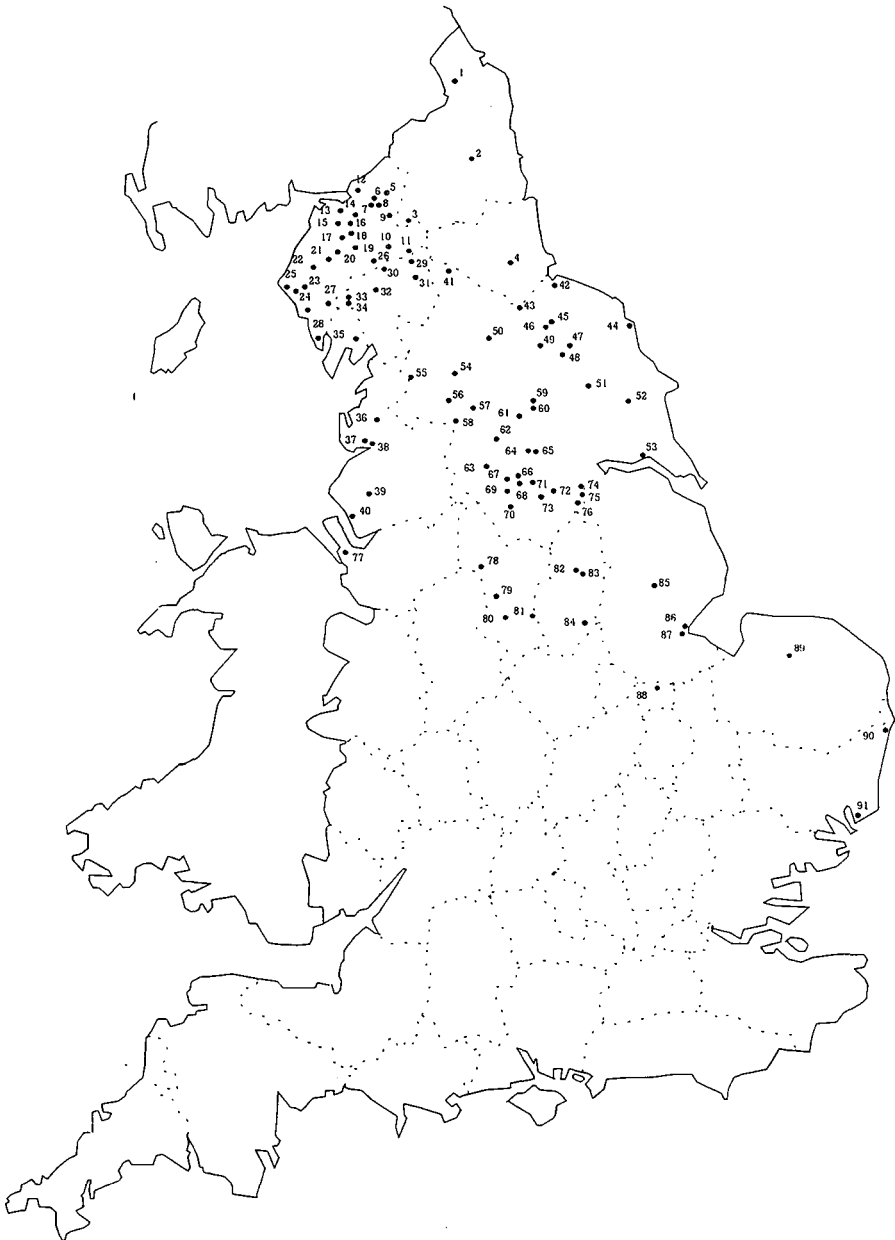
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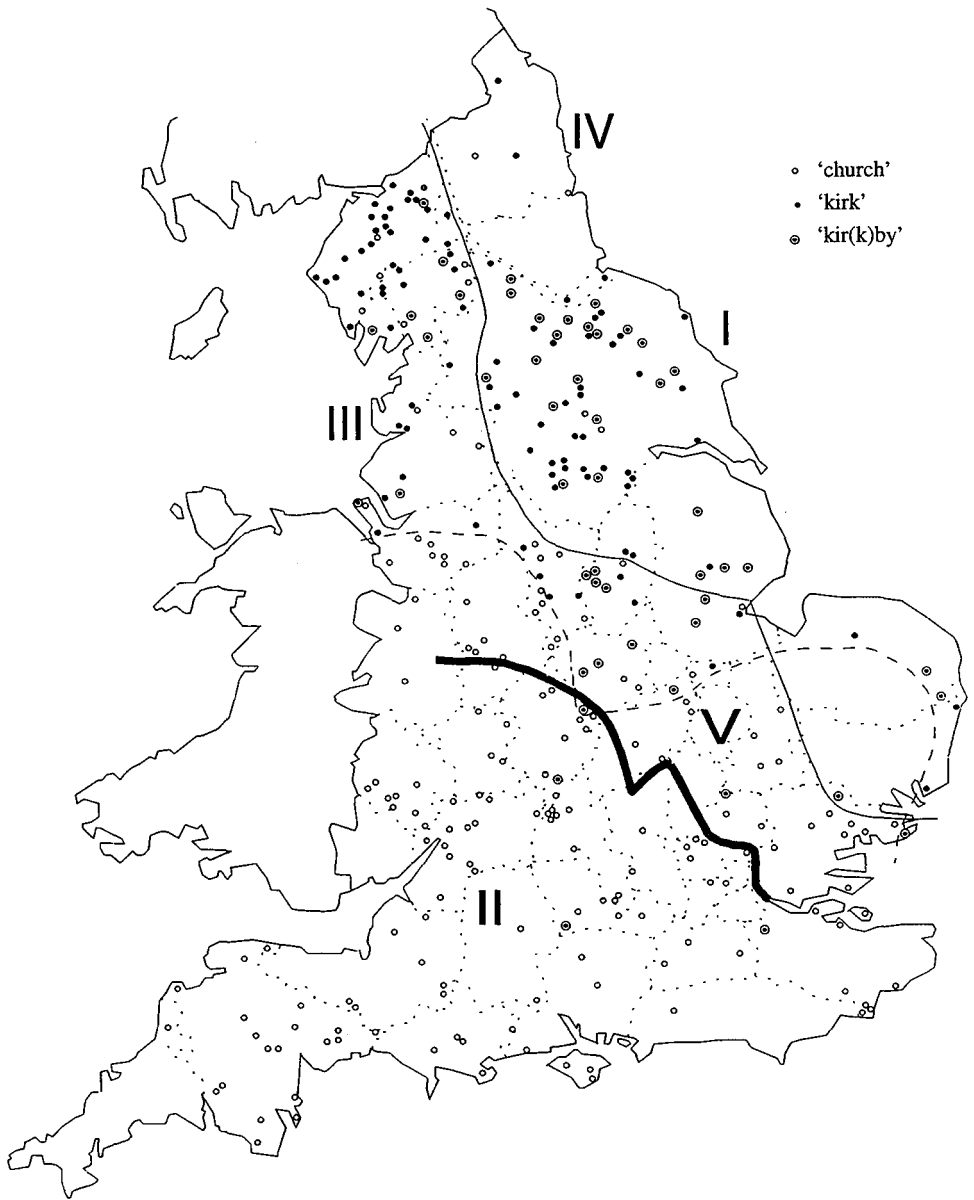
map 1: Distribution of the place-names in 'church'



map 2: Distribution of the place-names in 'kirk'



map 3: Distribution of the place-names in 'kir(k)by'



map 4: Distribution patterns of the place-names  
in 'church', 'kirk' and 'kir(k)by'

— southern limit of the Danelaw



## Povzetek

### RAZPOREDITEV PRVIN *CHURCH*, *KIRK* IN *KIR(K)BY* V ANGLEŠKIH KRAJEVNIH IMENIH

Sestavek obravnava razporeditev prvin *church*, *kirk* in *kir(k)by* v angleških krajevnih imenih, kakor so slednja navedena v virih Angleškega društva za krajevna imena. Glavna ugotovitev je, da zemljepisna razporeditev naštetih prvin odseva zgodnjo poselitev Anglosasov in Skandinavcev na Britanskem otoku. Raziskano je tudi, kako naštete prvine tvorijo zloženske z drugimi jezikovnimi in pomenskimi prvinami.